MODERN POLICIES,

Taken from *Machiavel, Borgia,* and other choice Authors, by an Eye-Witnesse.

Hom. Αλλὰ τὰ μὲν νοέω, καὶ φράζομαι.

Salust. Fragm.

Libidinem dominandi, causam belli habent, & maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putant.

Plautus in Captivis.

Nam doli, non doli sunt, ni si Astu colas,
Sed malum maximum si id palam pervenit.

Trinummus.

Ambitio jam more sancta'st, Libera'st a Legibus,
Petere honorem pro flagitio, more sit:
Mores, Leges perduxerunt jam in potestatem suam.

The fifth Edition.

LONDON, Printed for Tho: Dring, at the signe of the *George* in Fleet-street neere *Cliffords* Inne. 1654.

'75-6310

Cambridge University Library
On deposit from
Peterborough Cathedral

To my very good Lord,
My Lord *R.B.E.*

My Lord,

I Was never so proud, as to think I could Write any thing that might abide the test of your judicious eye: what I now send, appeales to your Candor, entreating you to lay aside the per-

ſon of a Judge, for that of a Friend. It is at beſt but a Pamphlet, whether you conſider its bulke, or worth. The reſult of a few penſive houres ſpent in recollecting what the memory had regiſtred from publike obſervance, or private reading, in a Theme ſo ſadly copious as this is. If it be not impertinent to tell you what hinted to this trifle, it

was

was this: Having had opportunity to looke abroade into the World, I tooke ſome notice of the Contraſtos of the Italian Princes, I remarked the Spaniards griping Portugall, his grounds for the Challenge of that Kingdome, and his way of managing thoſe grounds; I look'd upon his Method of propagating Chriſtianity in the Weſt: (where one

ſayes the Indian is bound to bee religious and poore upon pain of death.) Moreover, I obſerved with what Artifice the Pope moderated in the Europian quarrells, and with what devices hee twiſted the Goſpell, and the Advantage of the Chaire together, and in all the ſtruglings and diſputes, that have of late yeares befalne this corner of the

the world, I found, that although the pretence was fine and ſpirituall, yet the ultimate end, and true ſcope, was gold, and greatneſſe, and ſecular glory.

But (My Lord) to come nearer, when I ſaw Kingdomes tottering, one Nation reeling againſt another, yea, one piece of a Nation juſtling the other, and ſplit into ſo many parties, and

petty enmities: and each of theſe quoting Bible to palliate his mad, and exorbitant opinions: I ſighed, and it grieved mee to ſee popular eaſineſſe, and well-meaning abuſed by Ambitious ſelfe-ſeeking men, for there is a Generation that is borne to bee the Plague, and Diſquiet, and Scourge of the Age it lives in: that gladly Sacrifice the publike Peace to

private

private intereſt: and when they ſee all fired, with joy warme their hands at thoſe unhappy Flames, which themſelves kindle, tnding their merry Harpes, when others are weeping over a Kingdomes funerall.

But, above all, it pierced my heart to ſee the Clergy in ſuch an high degree acceſſory to the civill diſtempers, and con-

tentions that have every where ſhaked the Foundations of Church and State, ſo that (as the Catholike noted) there hath beene no floud of miſery, but did ſpring from, or at leaſt was much ſwell'd by their Holy-water. I ſearched the Evangelicall Records, and there was nothing but milde and ſoft Doctrines: I inquired into the breathings of the

the Spirit, and they were pacificatory, I wondered from what Precedents and Scripture-incouragements these men deduced their practises, and at last was forced to conclude, that they were onely pretended Chaplaines to the Prince of Peace: Those Torches that should have beene for saving Light, were degenerated into firebrands: Those Trum-

pets

pets that ſhould have ſounded Retreats to popular furies, knew no other muſicke but Martiall All-armes.

I have endeavoured in the Sequell to repreſent to you the Arts of Ambition, by giving you the picture of a perſon over-covetous of glory: the piece is courſe, but yet like, drawne onely in water colours, which ſome of greater Leiſure and

Abilities

Abilities may poſsibly hereafter lay in oyle.

You know that the deſires of man are vaſt as his thoughts, boundleſs as the Ocean, πίδος τετριμμένος, ἀπέραντος ἐπιθυμίας, A bored tub is not more inſatiate. 'Tis pitty that greatneſſe ſhould at any time be out of the Rode of goodneſſe; and I would ſometimes, if I durſt, with

Socrates,

Socrates, curse him that first separated profitable & honest.

It does to me a little relish of Paradox, that where ever I come, *Machiavell* is verbally curſed and damn'd, and yet practically embraced & asserted; for there is no Kingdome but hath a Race of men that are ingenious at the peril of the publike; so that as one said of *Galba* in respect

ſpect of his crooked body: *Ingenium Galbæ male habitat*; ſo may I ſay of theſe in regard of their crooked uſe; That wit could not have choſen a worſe manſion, than where it is viciated, and made a Pander to wickedneſſe.

If you aske mee what I mean to trouble the world, that is already under ſuch a glut of Books; You may eaſily perceive that

that I conſulted not at all with advantaging my name, or wooing publique eſteeme by what I now write; I knew there was much of naked truth in it, and though it might poſſibly be of ſome caution to prevent the inſinuation of pious frauds, and religious fallacies into my native Countrey: If any plaine-hearted, honeſt man ſhall caſt a-

way

way an hour in perusing it, he may perhaps find something in it resembling his owne thoughts, and not altogether strange to his owne experience. It is not the least of our misfortunes, that sins & vices are oft-times endeard to us by false Titles and Complements; being couzened with a specious name, though much incoherent to the

the thing we aſcribe it: or elſe, omitting the vice which is the maine, it intimates onely the vertue, which is the By: As for example, we call an ambitious man μεγαλεπήβολος, a perſon of notable aime and high enterprize: whereas in truth, it ſignifies, an indirect affectour of Grandeur: And I find that by incautelous intertainment of theſe Phraſes,

Phraſes, our judgements are often bribed to miſapprehenſions, & we ſeduced to bad actions. I have endeavoured in the enſuing diſcourſe to wipe off the paint & fucus: that ſo things may appeare in their true complexion, unadulterated with the ſlights and ſubtilties of Deluders.

My Lord, That your Lordſhip may be one of thoſe wch the

the darke Poet calls δὶς ἡβήσαντα, that the youth of your Honours may be renewed to you, that your happineſs may be acquainted with no other ſeaſon but a ſpring, is the earneſt vote

Of your

bounden

SERVANT.

To The Reader.

Reader,

THat nothing in this, might deterr a common eye, the quotations are tranſlated not κατὰ πόδας, but as might beſt ſerve the ſenſe and ſcope of the Author: yet I believe thou wilt finde little in the Engliſh, which is not warranted by the Originall, or (which is more) by the Truth. I invite none to it, but ſuch as deſire to be juſt valuers

valuers, and loyall obſervers of a good conſcience. Now, if thou beeſt not baniſhed by the verdict of thine owne breaſt, thou art welcome; otherwiſe read it, not as directed to thee, but meant of thee. This Book is like a Garment in a Broker's ſhop, not deſigned to any one perſon, but made for any that it fits.

My intent was to repreſent to you in the Generall (not mentioning particulars) a curſed, a wicked, but yet a fortunate Politian: 'Twas a good caution that *Caſsius* gave the Senate, concerning

ning *Pompey*, ---*Nos illum deridemus*, *ſed timeo ne Ille nos gladio* ἀντεμυκτηρίση: 'Tis fooliſh to laugh in the face of *Dionyſius*, and dangerous to ſhrug before *Andronicus*: tis not good to tempt the diſpleaſures of Tyrants upon idle ſcores, a thinne ſhield will ſerve to keepe out the ſtyle of a Satyriſt; nor can I commend him that loſt his Biſhoprick for a Romance.

Therefore I brand not perſons, but things; and if any mans guilt flaſhes in his face when he reads, let him mend the errour and he is unconcerned. 'Tis to

no

no purpoſe to tell that there is a ſecond part twin and coetaneous to this, that was once intended to run the ſame fortune; but I have many reaſons, beſides my owne weakneſſe to publiſh a valediction to the Preſſe, eſpecially as to diſcourſes of this nature.

The Great God of Heaven pour into us ſuch inward props and comforts, as may help us to ſtem and beare up againſt the rugged traverſes of degenerous times:

And let it beget in us milder opinions of Adverſity, when we conſider that

the

the winter of affliction does the better fit us to beare the eternall verdure of Glory.

The time will come when all ſhadows and apparitions ſhall vaniſh: Glorious Morne! when wilt thou dawne? Then theſe ſullen Clouds ſhall be ſcattered, Right reſtored, Worth prized, Vertue honoured, Vice degraded, and Honeſty rewarded.

Farewell.

THe name of Prince, which I often use, must be understood, as convertible with any person, or persons, whom God hath intrusted with a just supremacy; all the dialects of Government being concerned in the Abuse; I have made the chiefe, and most familiar to represent the rest.

I am not ignorant that the Quotations may justly seeme more numerous than Method, and the rule of Art will conveniently allow; I have this to say, to vindicate me from affectednesse; that I have been little studious of Elegance, and curiosity in the composure; esteeming nakednesse to be the best dresse of truth: and if I mistake not, those attendants I have here procur'd her, may afford some materiall, though little ornamentall advantage.

A

A Præmonition.

IT is farre from the de-ſigne of this Treatiſe, to derogate from the ho-nour of the calling, or worth of the perſon of any ſober Stateſman; 'Tis a know-ledge that no man obſerves with more due reſpects than my ſelfe; Becauſe, I know it is no meane degree eſſen-tiall to the peace, and flouri-ſhing condition of a King-dome or Common-wealth. 'Tis a jewell to be locked up in ſome few rare Cabinets,

and not to be made cheape, and expos'd to irreverence, by being bared, and prostituted to every vulgar eye. The Pseudo-Policy here mentioned is contradistinct to that science, which is ever built upon Piety and Prudence; for upon these solid Bases, your wise Architect delights to raise the glorious superstructure of government in a Prince, and subjection in a People: so knitting the Interest of both with reciprocall mixture, that the welfare of the one may be involved in the good of the other: that Majesty may be preserved in its just splendor, and yet

the liberty of the Subject remaine inviolate: He is the Atlas *of the falling State, cures it when ſicke, ſets it when diſ-joynted, meets it in its ſeveral preſſures with ſuitable reliefs. Such was* Philip de Commines, *of whom one ſaid, it was a meaſuring caſt, whether* Lewis *were the wiſer King, or* Philip *the wiſer Counſellor: ſuch was* Burleigh *to our late Queen* Elizabeth, *whoſe adviſe had very eminent influence into the proſperity of her Reign, which was ſuch, as I believe few ages can parallel, and future times will read her happy Annals, as*

written like Xenophon's Cyrus, Non ad hiſtoriæ fidem, ſed ad exemplum juſti imperij; Diſcovering not ſo much what was, as what ſhould be: not intended for a true Hiſtory, but for the Effigies of a juſt Empire. *So that if we love Peace, or Plenty, or Liberty, we are bound in way of acknowledgement to owne that in* Plutarch, Cato Maj. τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς ἄνθρωποι κτῶνται τελειοτέραν. True Policy deſerves to be put in the firſt file of Vertues.

But as the corruption of the beſt things makes them worſt, ſo this noble knowledge

ledge hath beene abuſed to looſe and ambitious ends, by ſome men who ſeem to have ſuck'd the venome out of all politicks, miſapplying what was good, & creating new, according to the urgency of their own occaſions, like the Lawes that were made in Cauſinus *his* Babell, *to be rul'd by manners, and not manners by Lawes. They vex true Policy by miſ-interpreting, and falſe gloſſing; framing in their hearts* Diana's *of hypocriſie and ſubtilty, and worſhipping them in their actions.*

Ophyogenes, & Piylli.

Furialibus commentariis illuſtrant.

The Rules following there are few ſo ſilly as to

believe, though too many so wicked as to practise, and not onely so, but by a bold imposture to perswade that such actions as are deduc'd from these principles are justifiable, and if fortunate, commendable.

That all may see these Rocks, and shun them and detest knavery though never so specious, and nauseate sin, though robed in successes and triumphs, is my daily prayer.

First

First Principle.

The Polititian must have the ſhadow of Religion, but the ſubſtance hurts.

THere is no ſuperſtition in Politicks more odious, than to ſtand too much upon niceties and ſcruples: and therefore *Machiavel* cut the haire, when hee adviſed, not abſolutely to diſavow conſcience, but to manage it with ſuch a

prudent neglect, as is
ſcarce diſcernable from
a tenderneſſe: not per-
mitting it to bee techy
and reluctìng, nor yet
proſtituting it, unleſſe
upon ſolemne and inſu-
perable occaſion: He
notes it from *Papirius* in
Livy, who ſlighted the
Pullarii handſomly, and
was rewarded; whereas
Appius Pulcher did it
groſly, and was puni-
ſhed.

But becauſe the Poli-
titian is beſt able to tell
his owne documents, you
may pleaſe to conceive
you found theſe broken
diſcourſes in his ſtudy:

to

to each of which I ſhall adde an Antidote.

Externall holineſſe invites awful regards; There is no maske that becomes Rebellion and Innovation ſo well as Religion; Nothing that ſo much conceales deformity, and pretends beauty. 'Tis an excellent thing ſo to diſſimulate piety, that when we act ſtrongly againſt it; in that very article of wickedneſſe the people Saint us: *Herod* would faine worſhip, when he meanes to worry.

---- *Ipſo ſceleris moline*
Tereus
Creditur eſſe pius:

In

In th' act of ſin do but Religion cry,
Sayes Tereus, *you as holy are as I.*

This is that which leads the World in a ſtring, that hallowes the moſt helliſh enterpriſes: for the common people (which are the πὸ πολὺ) never ſee behind the curtaine, a handſome gloſſe is with them as good as the Text: I believe the great Naturaliſt was in the right, when he called a Deity a jolly Invention, *Irridendum, agere curam rerum humanarum quicquid eſt ſummum, ſed credi ex uſu vitæ eſt,* 'Tis ridiculous to think that

Plin. l. 2. c. 7.

that God troubles himſelfe about ſublunary things, but 'tis not fit the world ſhould know it. Let me enjoy the temporall advantages of Religion, and let others take the eternall; Let me uſe it for a Cloak or a Crutch, and let others expect from it a Crown.

The River in *Athenæus* is my emblem, whoſe upper waters were ſweet and gratefull, but towards the bottome brackiſh. Let me be a ſuperficiall, let others be fundamentall Chriſtians: I like the humor of the *Samſeans* in *Epiphanius*, that were neither *Jews*, nor *Gentiles*, nor *Chriſtians*,

43 *Fons in Mileto, cujus profluens aqua dulciſſima, quæ vero in imo ſalſa.*

ans, but preſerving a *commodious* Correſpondence with all: whatſoever I act in reference to Heaven is meerely theatricall; and done in ſubordination to ſome other intereſt. *Lycurgus* could never have ingratiated his Lawes ſo effectually, if he had not pretended a Dialogue with his Goddeſſe. 'Tis to mee indifferent, whether the Religion I perſonate bee true or falſe, ſo it bee but popular: and if the people I meane to juggle with erre fundamentally, I can by no meanes court them more, than by imbra-

cing

cing their deluſion; It buckles them very cloſe to me in morall obſervance, to aſſiſt them in their ſpirituall ſoundneſſe, and mixe with their diſtemper; and therefore I commonly lead the Van in the Faction, and call it *Jure Divino*, though I never found it but in Hell's blacke Canons. How comfortably the *Pope* and *Cardinall* conferred notes, —*Quantum nobis lucri peperit illa fabula de Chriſto! How profitable has the Tale of Chriſt been to us?* O the rich income and glorious reſult of hypocriſie! This,

this

this muſt bee diligently ſtudyed and practiſed.

— Da juſtum ſanctumque videri,
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.
If that my deedes of darkneſſe may
Be hid in clouds as black as they;
If being ugly, I may paint,
Why then I am a true new Saint.

Privacy for a ſinne, and cleanly conveyance for a cheat, make it to common eyes ſeeme as white as innocency it ſelfe: the ſtrictneſſe of that Thief was very

very notable, who always before hee went about the Work of his Calling (for ſo he called ſtealing) went to prayers, that God would bleſſe and proſper him: So I ſay grace to the Deſigne, be it never ſo wicked, & give thanks for the ſucceſſe, be it never ſo bloody.

But further in ſubſerviency to a looſe intereſt, there muſt be no ſuch pulling thing as Conſcicence, Hell, and Heaven, and Scripture, and what elſe the Chriſtian eſteems moſt ſacred, muſt all truckle under the plot, but not be obſerved when they

they come to oppoſe it
Had *Alexander* boggle
at invading other men
Kingdomes, he had neve
wept for the ſcarcity o
VVorlds. There is no
greater obſtacle to gene
rous Actions, than a co
and ſquemiſh Conſci
ence; 'Tis pretty tha
ſome tell us that it ſtrike
Surdo verbere, With a ſtil
and ſilent ſtroke; and then
how can it bee heard in
the noyſe and buſtle
of a clamorous World?
Had your mighty Con-
querours, and your vali-
ant Captaines, and your
thriving Popes, liſtned
to this inward Charmer,
their

their Names had never ſwell'd, aud look'd bigge in the Rolls of Fame.

Colaſterion.

BUt let all ſober Chriſtians know, that this Shell of Religion, though it may be of externall conducement, yet there is nothing that Gods pure and undeluded eye lookes on with more abhorrency: Wee may poſſibly deceive men, but it is in vain to put Ironies upon God.

A counterfeit Religion shall find a reall Hell, and 'tis pitty that such a Sacred thing should be *violenced*, and made to obstetricate to rebellious irregular designes.

As for such who have conspir'd with the wrath of God in the stupefaction of their consciences, though they may for a time struggle with those inward checks, yet there will be a day (if not in this life) when that Witness, that Judge, that Jury, will not bee bribed. God hath fixed it in the soul as an eternall Register, as an impartiall Diary,

ary, as the *Censor* of the affections, & Pædagogue of the Passions. It does not only illustrate divine justice in an *Autocatacrisy*, but was meant by God for a bridle and restriction: And he that hath by an inveterate wickedness conquered the opposition which God seated in his heart to sinne, may possibly consult well with his present advantage and greatness, but not at all with his future comfort; for besides the losse of that intimate pleasure which waits upon innocency; Hee feeles sometimes those Bosome-

quar-

quarrells that verberate and wound his Soule, --- for

Συνείδησις τὴν ψυχὴν πλήττει

Prin-

Principle II.

The Polititian must by all means make the most insinuating applications to the People that he can; and lock up his owne design, in pretence for Religion, Liberty, Restitution of Lawes, Reformation of Gabels, &c.

THE Prosperity of Innovation depends in a high measure upon the right knacke of kindling and fomenting jealousies and dislikes in the people; and then weilding those Grudges to

to the favour and advantage of private ends; for the People are to the Polititian like Tooles to the Mechanick, hee can performe nothing without them, they are his wings, his wheeles, his implements, the properties that he acts with.

That this may be done effectually, there must be an excellency in these following slights.

First, To assigne such a cause of grievances, and such a course for redresse, as may open a way to the alteration he aimes at, as if he meanes to alter the Government, or to engros

groſſe the Supremacy, he muſt artificially convince of a neceſſity to arme, 1. Defenſively, and if that ſucceedes, 2. Offenſively; This he may do by falſe Alarmes of danger, inventing horrid Newes, and plying the people with ſuch fictitious perils, as may make them believe, Religion and Liberty, and All is at ſtake, and that they are the Geeſe that muſt ſave the Capitoll.

Secondly, When hee ſees opportunity to reveale his owne deſigne, he muſt doe it gradually, and by piece-meale; for *in progreſſu.*

that which at one view would bee a Mormo to fright them, give it them in ſmall parts, and they will digeſt it well enough.

Thirdly, He muſt compoſe his very garb and geſture: 'tis a great matter to tell a lye with a grace; as, if Religion be the Mode, he muſt in his tale knock his breaſt, attеſt God, and invoke imprecations upon himſelfe if hee does not doe that which he never intends.

Fourthly, He gives them good Words, and bad Actions, like thoſe the Hiſtorian brands with a *Crudelitatem damnatis, crudelitatem*

litatem initis, raviſhes them with apprehenſions of Liberty, under the higheſt ſtrain of oppreſſion: for it is moſt certain, if you pleaſe them with the name, they will imbrace it for name and thing. Something like this had beene impoſed upon *Rome*, when the Oratour writ to his Friend *Atticus*, —*Nomina rerum perdidimus*, *& licentia militaris libertas vocatur*, that they were cheated in names, for military Licence was miſcalled Liberty; This is well deſcribed by *Plautus* in *Truculento*.

Ingenioſi muſc pulatores.

In melle ſunt linguæ ſita
veſtræ, atque orationes,
Lacteque: corda felle ſunt
ſita, atque acerbo aceto.
E linguis dicta dulcia da-
tis, at corde amara facitis.
Pretences white as milk,
And ſoft as ſilk
Will do the feat:
Your hearts as ſowr as gall,
Purpoſe our thrall,
And thus ye cheat.

καλὸν πῆμα.

Fifthly, He obſerves that they receive probabilities wiſely propounded, more greedily than naked truths: and therefore he is very ſtudious to glaſe and poliſh his

Im-

Imprstures, that so they may to a loose eye dissemble truth, according to that of *Pindar*, γλυκύ ψεῦδος.

——Βροτῶν φρένα——

ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀληθῆ λόγον,
δεδαιδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις. ἐξαπατῶνται μῦθοι:

Glorious Lyes,
Well-marshall'd tales
Do still finde favour:
Truth all forlorne
Intreats and wooes,
But none will have her.

Or that of *Menander*:

τὸ πιθανὸν ἴσχυν τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχει ἐνίοτε μείζω, καὶ πιθανοτέραν ὄχλου.

Let but the vulgar judge
(the Poet knew)
They'd take the probable
and leave the true.

Sixthly, when he hath by the assistance of the people got the sword into his owne hands, he awes them with it, and frights them into future complyance. Hee that courted them before with all the adulatory terms that ambition could invent, or they receive; as if he had beene vow'd their Martyr, and ready to sacrifice his deareſt enjoyments upon the Altar of publique liberty and freedome; as if his veines knew no other bloud, but such as hee would be proud to spend in their service, having now served himselfe of them,

them, he forgets the bosome that warm'd him, they heare from him now in a Palinode, he curles up his ſmooth complements into ſhort Laconicks, and exchanges his court-ſlip for command.

Colaſterion.

FIrſt, We may be aſſured that there is no greater Index of ambition, than an affectation of popularity: which appears in meeke addreſſes to the people, wooing and familiar condeſcentions, bemoaning their ſufferings, commending a more vigorous ſenſe of them; that of the *Comick* is no bad rule,

Non temerariũ eſt ubi dives
blande appellat pauperem,
Altera manu fert lapidem,
panem oſtentat altera:

Ne-

Nemini credo, qui longe blandu'ſt dives papueri.
Tis not for nought, when thoſe above
Tender their ſervice, and their love:
Theſe are but profitable Arts,
Their Tougues are ſtrangers to their Hearts.

Or that which *Livy* notes of a Grandee, *Credebant haud gratuitam in tantâ ſuperbiâ comitatem fore*, *Pride never condeſcends without deſigne.* The extreame kindneſſe of fawning of great perſons, is alwaies ſuſpicious, becauſe often fraudulent: remem-

ber the *Sileni*, that uſe to kill with hugges, and embraces.

Secondly, Know it is very uſuall for men to perſonate goodneſſe, till they have accompliſhed their ends; 'tis obſerved of *Appius*, when he had his wiſh, *Finem fecit gerendæ alienæ perſonæ*; *He left wearing of another mans perſon*: 'tis an old note,

Maxima pars morem hunc hominesbabent, quod ſibi volunt,

Dum id impetrant, boni ſunt, ſed id ubi jam penes ſeſe habent,

Ex bonis peſſimi, & frandulentiſſimi ſunt.

Before the man
Had got his end
He was all Puritan:
What he would have
He thus obtain'd,
And then resumed Knave.

Athenæus tells a pretty story, of one *Athenian*, borne obscurely, who as long as hee was private and poore, excelled in a soft and tractable disposition, but when by jugling he had obtained the *Athenian* Government, there was none more odious for a cruell, covetous, and barbarick tyranny: as it is reported of *Caligula*, there was never a better

ter Servant, and a worse Master.

Thirdly, We know that a good aime, much lesse a good pretence cannot justifie a bad action, and therefore we ought to be as Solicitous about the lawfulnesse of the meanes, as about the goodnesse of the end. It is a *Maxim* in Morality, that *bonum oritur ex integris*, and in Christianity, that wee must not doe evill that good may come of it; and we may possibly rescue our selves from future cousenage, if we examine the lawfulnesse of every circumstance leading

leading to the end propounded, before we are tickled and transported with the beauty of the pretence.

Prin-

Principle III.

If the Supremacy be invaded, the Lapſes of the former Magiſtrate muſt be inculcated with the greateſt advantage, and what is wanting in reality, muſt be ſupplyed in Calumny.

IT cannot eaſily be imagined of what ſingular importance the aſperſing and blotting of a Prince is, to boyl up popular diſcontent to that height which is requiſite for a rebellion; and here it muſt diligently

diligently be enquired if there have not beene indeed ſuch lapſes, as have gall'd the people; and though they be old ſores and skinn'd, yet they muſt be ſearched and refreſhed, and exaſperated with all the urging circumſtances, that come within the invention of ſcandall; It muſt be remembred, if any perſons of publique note have ſuffer'd under the Sword of Juſtice, whoſe crimes can by Art or Eloquence bee extenuated, whoſe hard meaſure muſt be mentioned with teares, that ſo old Traytors may be propounded for new

Mar-

Martyrs. This hath beene the ordinary Method of Ambition, as you may finde it noted by a great Scholar in these words,---

Barclay contra Monarch. 30.

Fuit hæc omnibus sæculis, & adhuc est ad occupandum tyrannidem expeditissima via, dum summo se amore, ac pietate in patriam esse simulant, principum vitia, & populi miseriam, apud suos primùm, deinde palam querebundâ voce lamentantur, non quò plebem, cujus solius commodis inservire videri volunt, ab illo servitutis jugo asserant in libertatem; sed quo popularí aurâ subnixi, aditum sibi & jannam ad eam ipsam digni-

dignitatem, nequiora aliquando ausuri patefaciant. It was ever the most compendious way of usurpation to dissemble a strong affection to our Countrey; lamenting the vices of the Prince, and miseries of the People, not with an intent to rescue them from servitude, but to get such a portion of favour as may lift us up to the same pitch of honor on their shoulders; which having obtain'd, we transcendently abuse, changing the Rods of Royalty into the Scorpions of Anarchy, Aristocracy, or a free State.

'Tis

'Tis the fashion of fortunate Rebells to feed the people with shells, and empty names, it's if their bare assertion could demonstrate to us (against all experience) that 'tis freedome to be slaves to Quondam Pesants, and slavery to be subjects to a True and Naturall Prince. And therefore if the Prince be severe, he gives him *Nero*'s brand, a man kneaded up of dirt and blood: if he bee of parts and contrivance, he calls it pernicious ingenuity: If hee bee milde and favourable to tender consciences, he declaimes against his toleration:

tion: If he urge uniformity, and decency in Divine ſervice, he rails at his Superſtition. And becauſe there is no ſuch æquilibrious vertue, but has ſome flexure to one of the extreams, he is very careſull to publiſh the extreame alone, and to ſilence the vertue.

But if the Prince hath by carriage of extraordinary innocence, vindicated himſelf from obloquy (which ſhall ſcarce bee, if ſmall faults be rightly improved) then *Machiavels* advice muſt be follow'd, to calumniate ſtoutly, till the people have entertained

ned ſomething to his prejudice: 'Tis a Figure in Politiques to make every infirmity a fault, and every fault a crime: and if the people be diſpoſed to alteration, theſe muſt be firſt urged againſt a Monarch to depoſe him, or if need be, to murther him; which is commendable, if you can dreſſe him up like a Tyrant, as you may finde it juſtified by an honeſt *Scot*, who complaines that there are not ſome glorious rewards appointed for Tyrannicides: and by the beſt of Oratours, --*Græcos Deorum honores, tribuiſſe*

Buchanan.

Pro M. Lone.

in,

iis, qui Tyrannos necaverunt, The Grecians gave divine honors to those that kill Tyrants. And by the Tragedian,

Victima haud ulla amplior potest, Hercules furens.
Magisve optima mactari Jovi,
Quam Rex iniquus.
More grateful victim none to Jove *can bring,*
Than is the blood of slaughter'd unjust King.

And secondly, these personall faults must be artificially devolved upon *Monarchy* it selfe.

There remaines to disperse the commen-

da-

dation of that Govern-
ment, which is intended
for a Succeſſour: if *Ari-*
ſtocracy the long-liv'd
proſperity of *Sparta* and
Venice, is a very plauſible
evidence of its goodneſſe.
If *Democracy*, the happi-
neſſe of the *Romans* under
their Tribunes is very
memorable; to which
may be added this out of
Machiavel, that they are
the moſt ſuitable guardi-
ans of any thing, who are
leaſt deſirous to uſurp it:
and without doubt con-
ſidering the Deſignes of
the Nobility: and the
people, we muſt confeſſe,
that the firſt are very
am-

Upon Liv. p. 12.

ambitious of rule, the last desire onely not to be oppresst.

Cola-

Colaſterion.

I Preſume that Perſon is very rare, that can boaſt of ſuch an abſolute Saint-ſhip whileſt he is amongſt mortals, but that there will now and then ſome actions fall from him, which confeſſe humanity, and require Candor: ſome leaves in the volumn of the faireſt life, that are *Legenda cum veniâ:* If this be a common frailty, why doe we fixe ſuch rigid cenſures upon the miſcarriages of Princes? or why doe we deny them

them the ſame mildneſſe, which we uſe, when we commiſerate the infirmities of other men? 'Tis yet much more diſ-ingenious to revive &pore upon a few bad actions, wch may be have been long ſince expiated with many good: Take this from no meane Statiſt— *Iniqua in omni re accuſanda, praetermiſſis bonis, malorum numeratio, vitiorumque electio; nam ne ullus quidem iſto modo magiſtratus vituperabilis non erit,* 'Tis an unjuſt way of accuſing to omit the good offices of a Prince, & to ſelect and puniſh only his bad: for by this

means no Magistrate sh
be innocent.

As greatnesse gives
Glosse to the Vertues o
Prince, so it mitigates
Vices; for if we look
on him as circled w
honour, and all outwa
enjoyment; we see with
that variety of tempt
ons he hath to strug
with above others, hav
no other Guard, no ot
weapon than his m
vertue; sometimes we
defended from a sinne
our very impotency,
may be above our sph
or out of our reach;
doe not, because we c
not; how often are

wills offenders, when our hands are innocent? we are checked from without, he commonly from within, having nothing to dispute with his immoderate desires, but himselfe. This is that which inhances the goodnesse of a Prince, as that excellent Poet leads his temperate Knight through all the delicacies and charmes of pleasure, and delivers him a Conquerour. *Spencer.*

But suppose a Magistrate really tyrannicall; it is no contemptible question, Whether the evills of the redresse may not be equivalent to the mis-

chief. I remember *Livy's*
Nec morbum ferre poſſu
mus, nec remedium: We
can neither abide the d
ſeaſe nor the remedy: an
Plutarch's, χεῖρον ἔιναι μ
ναρχίας παρανόμυ πόλεμον ἐ
φύλιον: *A civill Warre*
worſe than an irregula
Monarchy: and *Tacitu*
Ferenda Regum ingeni
neque uſui eſſe crebras mu
tationes: vitia erunt, d
nec homines, ſed neque h
continua, & meliorum i
terventu penſantur; Th
humors of Kings are to
tolerated; nor is it uſuall
change them: whileſt the
are men there will be v
ces. The miſcarriages of

Princ

Prince may be great, the vertues of his Succeſſour may be greater: and *Seneca, Infæliciter ægrotat, cui plus periculi à medico quam à morbo, He is unfortunately ſick, that is more in danger of his Phyſitian, than of his diſeaſe.* Poiſe the miſeries of a Civill Warre with the grievances of an unjuſt Magiſtrate, and the Polititian muſt take many graines of allowance from fallacy to make the ſcales even. For though the fury of incenſed Tyranny may fall heavy upon many particulars, yet the

bloody consequences of an intestine Sword, are more epidemicall and more permanent.

As to the charging the faults of a Governour upon the Government its self, I see nothing in it but delusion, nor can there be a more grosse abuse, than

Isocrates. τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πονηρίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα μεταφέρειν.

To make the Office guilty of the Officer's abuse.

For King-killing, because I know it a techy subject, I shall wholly omit all discourse of it; onely I find it damn'd by an able English Divine, as Jesuiticall; and *Tacitus* com-

Jo. Goodw. in his Anticavalrist.

commends to ſubjects rather *ſcutum* than *gladium*, the ſhield of patience and toleration, rather than the Sword.

Principle IV.

The Polititian must nouriſh ſome mercenary Jeſuits, or other Divines to cry up his aims in their Churches that ſo the poyſon may inſinuate more generally into all the parts.

HE that peruſes Hiſtory, will find that there hath been no Innovation ſo groſs, no Rebellion ſo hideous, but hath had ſome Eccleſiaſticall Fomentors: for ſuch as want worth enough of their owne to reach preferment in a regular way, are moſt apt to envy the juſt honors of better men; & deſpairing to obtain their end by learning & piety, they aſpire to it by the crooked meanes of faction and ſciſme nor are theſe deſpicable inſtruments to the Polititian; for the ſharpeſt ſword in his Army connot vie ſervices with a ſubtill quill: You may

may ſee his buſines in the Comick, γεάφων, βυλεύτων, καὶ τῆ γλώτ]η πολεμήτων. *Writing, preaching, diſputing, that ſo his tongue is a ſhield to his Patrons opinion, and a ſword to his adverſaries.*

The Jeſuit reckons it in the number of his merits, if he may by any ſiniſter wayes ruffle and diſorder Hereticall Kingdomes (ſo he calls them) encourage weak and unſtable minds to ſlight Magiſtracy, irritat diviſions, tumlts, rebellions, abſolve from oaths, and all ſacred ties, ſo that it is hard to find any tragical Scene, or bloody Theatre, into which the Jeſuit hath not intruded, and been as buſie as *Davus* in the Comedy, contributing in a very high meaſure to every Fanaticke Inſolence, juſtify-

ing the old Lemma of *Loiola*'s Picture, *Cavete vobis Principes:* These are the fire-brands of *Europe*, the Forge and Bellows of sedition, Infernall Emissaries, the Pests of the Age, men that live as if huge sinnes would merit Heaven by an Antiperistasis.

2. Nor is any Nation without some turbulent spirits of its owne, the dishonour of the Gown and Pulpit, the shame, and sometimes the ruine of their Countrey; you would thinke they had their Text from a Gazet, because you hear so much of a Curranto in the Appli-

Classica canere.

plication: That these may be fit implements for the Polititian, there are these requisite qualifications.

1. There must be a principall gift of wresting the Scripture, vexing and urging the holy Text, constraining it to patronize the designe; the great Apostle expresses this in three very emphaticall termes: 1. Cogging the Dye, making the Word speake what they list; 2. Crafty Applications, and Expositions of it; 3. All the Methods and Arts of cousenage, ὡρανάζονται καὶ χρυσιάζονται λόγους, gilding and varnishing rotten

Κυβεία, Πανουργία, μεθοδεία, πλάνης.

rotten doctrines, and this must be done

1. In publique, vomiting out flames and Sulphure from that Sacred Pegma, where he should deliver none but mild and soft, that is, Evangelicall Embassages.

ὀρθοφθόγοι. Evangeliopthori.

2. In private, at Parlour-Sermons, and Meeting-Houses, where he is listened to as an Oracle, and here commonly he is more Enthusiast, than Scripturist, and his Auditors believe his dreames to be as Canonicall as the Revelation; like those *Melanthon* speakes of, *Quicquid somniant, volunt esse*

esse spiritum sanctum, Their dreames are all new lights, or those that the Father chides, when he tels them that every whimsey is not Propheſie, Οὐ πᾶν ἐννύχιον ἔνθυς προφητεία.

3 Hee ought to bee of some abilities in disputing; and what hee wants in Logick, hee must supply in Garrulity: for whatsoever hee affirmes, the intereſt he hath in his seduc'd hearers improves into a Syllogism; you ask after his *Tophicks, Ex officina carnificũ argumenta petit, He has his arguments from* Gregory, *but not the Saint.* If after his

Popul. ἰαχυπεθία. S. Hierom.

wea-

Strada

weapons, Armat ſe ad latrocinium per Chriſti nomen, He carries the name of Chriſt in the Van of Rebellion and Robbery; and the wound hee makes is Faction; thoſe conſciences which will not ſurrender to his parley, his Maſter takes by ſtorm: And thus he abuſes Chriſt, by pretending his Favour to unwarrantable Actions; he abuſes his Prince, by alienating the affection and allegiance of his ſubjects; he abuſes the Church by ſhattering it into rents and ſchiſms, wounding it with a feather from its owne wing, ſnatching a Coale from

from the Altar, to fire both Church and State; and lastly, he abuses himselfe, for when the Polititian hath made his best use of his seditious spirit, he leaves him to his own wild distempers, having directed his own thoughts to another Goale.

Ecclesiæ nomine armamini, & contra Ecclesiam dimicatis. Aug.

Co-

Colasterion.

ALthough wee have caution enough against these in sad and frequent experiences, these Latter Ages groaning under the Effects of an Exorbitant Clergy; yet such is the easinesse and credulity of the Vulgar, such the subtilty and dissembled sanctity of the Impostor, that hee meetes with as great a proneneſſe in the people to be couſen'd, as he brings willingneſſe to delude; for it is a true Obſervation, that theſe Clan-

Clancular Sermocinators beare as great ſway in popular minds, and make as deep impreſſion upon their Conſciences, as the *Loyoliſts* doe, when they impoſe upon their blinde Laity.

I dare onely ſubjoyne theſe few adviſes.

Firſt, I ſhould ſuſpect a Clericall Statiſt, I mean ſuch a one as in the diſpenſation of Sacred Oracles, tampers with ſecular affaires, unleſſe it be in caſe of high concernment to his Auditors ſoules.

Secondly, I ſhould believe him a Jugler, that ſprinkles

ſprinkles his Sermons with murmurs againſt the lawfull Magiſtrate, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil; unleſs he hath ſome better ground for his diſlike, than a thwarting his humour, in things Controverſall and Adiaphorous.

Thirdly, I ſhould more than doubt his knavery, that ſhould ſuborne Scripture, to atteſt, or incite to Illegall Actions, as akin to that, which *Salvian* calls *Religioſum ſcelus, Religious wickedneſſe.*

Καινοφωνία. Fourthly, All newes in Religion, whether in Doctrine or Diſcipline, is the common skreene of private

vate design; Let *Macenas* tell it, τοὺς δὲ ξενίζοντας τὶ περὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ μίσει καὶ κόλαζε, πολλοὺς γὰρ ἀναπέυθουσιν ἀλλοτριονομεῖν. *All innovators in Religion, let them be severely punished, for they are fomenters of all sedition.* Which is noted by the great *Causabon* in his Epistle before his Baronian exercitations, thus; *Cupiditas novandi hæc secum mala semper trahit, Christi inconsutilem tunicam lacerat, sectas novas parit, & statim multiplicat, Ecclesiam & populum concutit,* &c. *Novelties in the Church, are never without these sad consequences,*

Apud Dion. Cass.

They

they rend the ſeamleſſe coat of our bleſſed Saviour, they breed Schiſmes, and then brood and multiply them; they ſhake the fundamentals of Church and State, &c.

'Tis ſad to ſee *Urania*, divine *Urania* inroll'd in blood, the Stars and Luminaries of the Church, to ſhed ſuch blacke and malignant influences; in lieu of pious documents, to heare none but furious incentives; *Ite alacres, Cauſæ; tantæq; precor confidite* *No matter for the Church, or Lawes,* *You may confide in ſuch a Cauſe.* The Cauſe they ſerve, is the doctrine and the

Papirius.

the uſe, the egg, the apple, the head and foot of all their diſcourſes; if you like to confer notes, you may finde a piece of their Sermon in *Barclay*, to this effect, *Se Evangelii libertatem prædicare, nullam Chriſtianis animis vim inferre, ſuã cuiq; conſcientiã liberã relinquere, verbo ducere non vi quemquã adigere; eã eſſe Evangelii doctrinam, ut omnes conſcientiæ fruantur libertate: ſibiq; ut id liceat, votis omnibus poſtulare, They extoll Evangelical liberty, that no Chriſtian mindes ſhould be yok'd with Ch: Govern. that all ſhould enjoy mild conſciences; that the*

Con. Monarc p. 32.

the Gospel is soft and milde
nor does it seek to reduce a
ny by violence: they beg th
same inlargement & scop
for themselves, which the
gladly allow to others.

Principle

Principle V.

If ſucceſſe waits upon his Enterpriſes, he urges it to authenticate his Cauſe.

THere is no Argument more popular than ſucceſſe, becauſe the bulke of men is not able to diſtinguiſh the permiſſion of God from his approbation: And although it be in its ſelf fallacious & feeble, yet the miſery of the conquered denies them the opportunity to diſpute it; for the oppoſition of the Sword will never be confuted by the bare

bare fist of Logick. Nor doth the Victor commonly permit any ventilation of his dictates; for when the body is a slave, why should the reason be free? Δοῦλος πέφυκας, ὦ μέτεσί σοι λόγε; as the Souldiers in *Plutarch* wondered any would be so importunate to preach Laws, and Morall reasons to men with Swords by their sides; Οὐ πάυσεσθε ὑμῖν ὑπεζωσμένοις ξίφη, νόμους ἀναγινώσκοντες: And if Armes knew not how to descend to rationall inquiries, but were enough justified by an odde kind of necessity of their owne creating; like those

In *Pompeio.*

those in *Livy*, *In armis jus ferre & omnia fortium virorum esse*, *That all Laws are engraved in the Hilt of a victorious sword, to whose* Mandamus, *all other Statutes must submit.*

I have often considered with my self, what should move Tyrants to print Justifications of themselves, and assertions of their proceedings, which I suppose never made an understanding man a Convert, nor met with a cordial reception in any, unless the abuse of a few, poor, shallow believers, be thought a Tryumph worth their paines. I have sometimes

thought they do by these papers please themselves in their abilities to delude, and so gratifie their tyranny over the noblest part of man, by denying the liberty of the thought, and subduing the powers of the soule to an implicit coherence with their own magisteriall opinions.

But our Polititian, by quoting the successe of his undertakings, besides the plausibleness and insinuating nature of the Proposition its selfe, hath the advantage of power to make us believe him.

Nor is this bait contemptible, many of parts and

and prudence, yea and of Religion have been ſtagger'd by it; ſome queſtion whether *Dyoniſius* deſerv'd the brand of Atheiſme, conſidering the wilde conceits they then had of their Gods; or differed from the common Creede, crying out, O how the Gods favour Sacriledge! when he had a merry gale after a ſacrilegious attempt. The beſt of the Roman Hiſtorians calls the Victory, the juſt Arbitreſſe of the Cauſe, *Eventus belli velut equus Judex, unde jus ſtat, ei victoriam dabit, The event of the Warre, like an im-*

partiall Judge shall knit victory and right together. So hard it is to perswade meere reason, that Vertue may be unfortunate, and Vice happy.

He was no small Poet that argued himself out of his Gods, by seeing wickednesse honoured, and worth slighted: which he expresses thus,

Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo, quis putet esse Deos?

In

In Engliſh.

Licinus *does in Marble ſleep,*
A common Urn does Cato *keep:*
Pompey's Aſhes may catch cold,
That there are Gods, let Dotards hold.

There may be ſome uſe made of that in *Seneca*, *Honeſta quædam ſcelera ſucceſſus facit*, Proſperous miſchiefs are Cardinall vertues in the Worlds Ethicks; and therefore the Tragedian repeats it, *Proſperum ac Fælix ſcelus, virtus vocatur.* The unwarrantableneſſe is hidde *Her. fur.*

and concealed in the glory of the ſucceſs: we often praiſe the Macedonian Conqueſt, but ſeldome mention their boundleſſe and unjuſt ambition.

On the contrary, if an undertaking really good miſcarry, we cenſure it: ſo that according to the vogue of the World, 'tis the event that gives the colour to the action, and denominates it good or bad. Τὸν κρατῆσαν τιμῶμεν, τὸ ἡττηθὲν καταγελῶμεν. *We adore the fortunate, and deſpiſe the conquer'd.*

Ibid.

Cola-

Colaſterion.

THere is ſome of this Leaven in the judgements of moſt, notwithſtanding thoſe brighter diſcoveries, in the Noone of Chriſtianity we live under. A Bible throughly obſerv'd, would expound to us much of the riddle, and dark paſſages of providence: we are ſo ſhortſighted, that we cannot ſee beyond time, we value things, and men, by their temporall proſperities, and tranſient glories; whereas if we put

Eeternity into the other ſcale, it would much outpoiſe that worldly luſtre, that ſo much abuſes our eye, and couſens our underſtandings.

I finde not in holy writ that God hath inſeparably annex'd goodneſs and greatneſs, juſtice and victory: He hath ſecured his Servants of the felicities of a better life, but not of this. Chriſts Kingdome was not, our happineſſe is not of this World.

Nor doth my Bible ſhew me any warrant for appeale to Heaven for the deciſion of this, or that intricacy: by beſtowing ſucceſſe

ſucceſſe upon this party, or that cauſe, according to its righteouſneſſe, and due merit. There is a vaſt difference betwixt ἀτύχημα and ἀδίκημα, even in Scripture-Conſtruction.

The Great Turke may juſtly exult, and prune himſelfe in diſcourſes of this nature, if they bee once admitted, and own'd by Chriſtians: And I ſhall forbeare any longer to thinke *Mahomet* an Impoſtor, and muſt receive the *Alcoran* for Goſpel; if I ſhall bee convinced, that temporall happineſſe and Triumph, are a true

Index of divine Favour. Our Religion hath ſomething more to invite our cloſure with it; it propoſes a conveniency on Earth, but the Crownes and Garlands are reſerv'd for Heaven.

The Money-God in *Ariſtophanes* pretends a command from *Jupiter* to diſtribute as great a Largeſs to the wicked, as to the good; becauſe if vertue ſhould once impropriate riches, that faire Goddeſſe would be more wooed for her Dowry, than for her native Beauty: So if Religion were attended with thoſe outward

ἐν Πλούτῳ.

ward Allurements that moſt take the ſenſes; we ſhould be apt to follow Chriſt for the loaves, and over-look the ſpirituall charmes, and more noble ends of Chriſtianity.

The Heathen could ſay, *Fœlix prædo mundo exemplum inutile*, Happy Pyracy is a thing of unhappy preſidency; Fortunate ſins may prove dangerous temptations; But to ſay that God doth ſignally atteſt the actions of ſuch a perſon, or the juſtice of ſuch a cauſe, by permitting it to proſper, and taper up in the world, is ſuch a deceit, as deſerves

our

our ſerious abhorrency—
I leave it with *Ovids* wiſh,

—Caret ſucceſſibus opto,
Quiſquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.

Let him for ever in ſucceſs be poor
That thinks it juſtifies his cauſe the more.

Prin-

Principle VI.

The Polititian must change with the times.

THAT Alterations and Revolutions in Kingdomes, are the Rods with which God ſcourges miſcarrying Princes, is reſolved by my Lord of *Argenton*: to which may be added out of *Ariſtotle* in the fifth of his Politiques——— *Per fraudem & dolum regna evertuntur*, That the ruines of a Kingdome are often derived from fraud and

and ſubtilties: I ſhall omit inquiry into other Cauſes as forreign to my preſent purpoſe.

The Politician knowes beſt how to improve theſe popular Guſts, becauſe he cauſed them: ſuch a ſtorm is his ſeed-time. 'Tis the boaſt of a Duch-man, that he can ſail with all winds; the aſpiring man obſerves the quarter whence the fair'ſt Gales of preferment blow, and ſpreads the ſailes of his Ambition to entertaine them, nor can the compaſſe breath more varieties, than his dexterous ſoul has changes and garbs, and ſuitable compliances. What

What the Orator calls his top and perfection, to make happy application to the ſeverall humours and genius of all ſorts of men, qualifying his addreſſe with what hee knowes will moſt charme the perſon he treats: that the Polititian does not only with his lip, but life, you may finde all thoſe Figures and Tropes digeſted into his actions, and made practicall, that are in the other onely vocall.

He remembers that of an Engliſh Marqueſs (*Pawlet* of *Wincheſter*) who having ſucceſſefully ſerved foure Princes, and

ſtill

Mantons Regalia.

ſtill in the ſame roome of favour, unſhaken with the viciſſitudes he had runne through; being ask'd by one, by what meanes he preſerved his fortune? he replies, that he was made, *ex ſalice, non ex quercu*, of the pliant Willow, not ſtubborn Oak, alwayes of the prevailing Religion, and a zealous Profeſſour. This eaſines & bending is of abſolute neceſſity; for, if the ſame temper, which inſinuated in violent times, were retain'd in a compoſed and ſetled government, it would be altogether diſtaſtfull; and ſo on the contrary.

There-

Therefore if Religion bee fashionable, you can scarcely distinguish him from a Saint: He does not onely reverence the holy Ministers, but if neede be, he can preach himselfe: If Cunctation prevailes, hee acts *Fabius*: If the Buckler must be changed for a Sword, he personates *Marcellus*: If mildnesse be usefull, *Soderini* of *Venice* was not more a lamb than he: If severities are requisite, *Nero*'s Butcheries are Sanctities, compared with his: As *Alcibiades* in *Plutarch*, shifted disposition as he altered place (being voluptuous and

and joviall in *Ionia*, frugal and retir'd in *Lacedemon*) ſo he proportions himſelf to time, place, perſon, Religion, with ſuch applauſibleneſs, as if he had been borne onely to ſerve that opinion, which he harboured but as a gueſt whileſt it continued in ſway: having a roome in his heart, if occaſion be, to lodge the contrary, and to cry it up with as much ardour, as he once uſed to extoll the former. And thus like a ſubtile *Proteus*, he aſſumes that ſhape that is moſt in grace, and of moſt profitable conducement to his ends, *In e-*

ſtant

stant consilia, quod sibi conducere putat, All his consultations turne upon the hinge of self-interest.

Hee abounds in that which *Varo* calls, *versatile ingenium*, a voluble wit, like the changling derided by *Plautus*, as more turnings than a Potter's wheel. *Rota figulari versatilior.*

He hath his advantage of the Camelion, that he can assume whitenesse; for I finde him often wearing the vest of innocency, to conceal the uglinesse, and blackenesse of his Attempts.

Finally, he is the Heliotrope to the Sunne of Honour,

nour, and hath long ſince abjured his God, Religion, Conſcience, and all that ſhall interpoſe, and skreen him from thoſe beams, that may ripen his wiſhes and aimes into enjoyments.

Co-

Colaſterion.

BUt the true Stateſman is inviolably conſtant to his Principles of vertue, and religious prudence; his ends are noble, and the meanes he uſes, innocent: he hath a ſingle eye on the publick good; and if the ſhip of the State miſcarry, hee had rather periſh in the wreck, than preſerve himſelfe upon the planke of an in-glorious ſubterfuge. His worth hath led him to the Helme, the Rudder he uſes, is an honeſt and vigorous wiſdome

dome, the Starre he looks to for direction is in Heaven, and the port he aims at, is the joynt welfare of Prince and People.

This constancy is that solid Rock upon which the wise Venetian hath built its long-liv'd Republick: So that it is not improbable the Maiden-Queen borrow'd her Motto of *Semper eadem*, from this Maiden Commonwealth.

'Tis true, something is to be conceded to the place, and time, and person; and I grant that there are many innocent compliances, *Virgils Obliqua-*

re

re ſinus, is obſervable, there may be a bending without a crookedneſſe: We may *circumire*, and yet not *aberrare*; *Paul* became a Jew, that hee might gain the Jewes, but he did not become a ſinner, that hee might gaine ſinners; He was made all things to all men, but he was not made ſin to any: that is, his condeſcenſions were ſuch, as did well conſiſt with his Chriſtian integrity.

Greatneſs, and Honours, and Riches, and Scepters, thoſe glorious temptations, that ſo much inamour the doting world, are too

poor

poore ſhrines for ſuch a ſacrifice as Conſcience, which the Polititian hath ſo much abuſed by an inveterate neglect, that it is become menſtruous, and Ephemerall.

Principle

Principle VII.

If the Polititian find reaſon to impoſe Oathes, Let them be of ſuch Ambiguity as may furniſh with a ſenſe obliging to the deſign, and yet ſo ſoft as the people may not feele the ſnare.

IT appears by ſad expe-rience, that in propounding of Oaths, requiring Promiſes, and other ſolemn Ties; there have been multitudes induced to binde themſelves upon ſome ſecret Looſe, and mentall reſervation; which

they have fram'd to themselves as a *salvo* in case of breach: so apt we are in affaires of greatest importance, to advise more with corrupt Wit, than sound Conscience.

In the Catalogue of selfe-delusions, you may possibly finde these;

1. We are ready to interpret the words to kindely, especially if they be ambiguous; and it is hard to finde terms so positive, but that they may be eluded indeed, or seeme to us to be so, if we be disposed.

2. Some are invited to illicite promises *quà* illi-

ite, becauſe they know
hem to be invalid.
3. Some are frighted in-
o theſe bonds by threats,
d loſſes, and temporall
ncernments, and then
ey pleaſe themſelves
at they ſwear by Dureſs,
d ſo are diſ-ingaged.
4. Some are oath-proof;
meane there are ſuch
are-ſoul'd men, as will
ear *Pro* and *Con*.
5. Some have learned
om the *Civilians*, that
ough we ſweare to a
ing not materially un-
wfull, yet if it impedes
greater morall good, it
comes void.
6. Some take liberty to

Grot. *de jur. belli*, 245.

ſweare, becauſe they judge the perſon to whom they ſweare incapable of an oath: as *Cicero* defends the breach of oath to a Thief, from perjury, and *Brutus* to a Tyrant: as it is in *Appian*, ἐδόκει πίστον ὅτι Ρωμαίοις πρὸς τυράννους, οὐδ' ἔνορκον. *The Romans eſteemed an honeſt perjury, to violate their faith with Tyrants.*

The firſt ſort of these falls moſt properly under the notice, and practiſe of our Polititian; though he may alſo uſe the laſt, but at different times.

It is not difficult for him to caſt his deſire into ſuch ſoft glib expreſſion

as will downe with moſt: Yea, with many that would abſolutely diſavow the ſame thing in rough Language. If he be unskill'd in this black Art, I commend him to the Pæpagogy of the *Delphick* Devil.

Now it is moſt certaine, there is no other tye of ſuch ſecurity, and eſtabliſhment, to a Perſon that hath raviſhed greatneſſe, and acquired it by violence. Uſurpation hath onely theſe two pillars, its owne Armes, and Militia, and publick Oath and Acknowledgement; and it is ſcarce worth

Querie, whether, when th
Groſſe of a Nation is thu
bound, the Oath be no
as valid, and the conſci
ence as much concerned,
as if it had been ſworne to
a lawfull Prince. It is rea-
ſonable that an uſurping
power cannot upon any
prudent perſwaſion have
the ſame confidence in the
love of the people that a
Juſt hath: Nor is the fol-
lowing goverment intri-
cing, as *Tacitus* notes, *Nec
quiſquam imperium malis
artibus quæſitum benè ad-
miniſtravit*, *Never any
Kingdome badly acquired
was well adminiſtred.* The
ſame with *Cuzzo*, where
one

one objecting the vices of Princes, receives this answer, *Perchè non erano Prencipi per natura, ma per violenza, & erano più temuti che amati: Therefore they were not naturall Princes, but violent Usurpers, and so more beholding to the feare than love of their Subjects.* And therefore if the Polititian can by the blessed means forementioned gain a superiority, there is no trusting to those ingenuous Guards, his owne goodnesse, and the love of others: His best defence is awe, and feare, and Scaffold, and Gibbet, and the like. For

De civil. conversat. l. 2. p. 132.

hee that hath no voluntary roome in the hearts of his people, muſt uſe all meanes to gaine a coercive.

For his owne promiſes, hee puts them into the ſame bottomeleſſe bagge, which the Poets ſay *Iupiter* made for Lovers aſſeverations: His Word is as good as his Oath, for they are both trifles, as it is in *Plautus*.

Aulular. — *Pactum non pactum eſt, non pactum pactum eſt, cum illis Lubet:*

A bargain ſhall no bargain be

If

If I can no Advantage
ſee;
A bargain ſhall a bargaine
be
If it with my Deſignes a-
gree.

'Twas he that firſt inven-
ted that uſefull diſtinction
of a lip-oath, and a heart-
oath; you may find him
in *Euripides.*

Jurata lingua eſt, mente
juravi nihil,
I with my Tongue can
ſweare,
And with my Heart for-
beare.

Hee makes good uſe
of that in *Plutarch*, τοὺς μὲν Apoph.

παῖδας ἀςραγάλοις δεῖν ἐξαπατᾶν, τοὺς δ' Ἄνδρας ὅρκοις, that children are to bee cousened with rattles, and men with oathes.

'Tis an huge Advantage that man hath in a credulous World, that can easily say and sweare to any thing; and yet withall so palliate his Falsifications and Perjuries, as to hide them from the Connusance of most. the Polititian must bee furnished with handsome Refuges, that may seemingly heale miscarriages this way. Hee neede not spend much time in inquiry after such

ſuch helpes; theſe declining Ages will abundantly furniſh his invention.

Co-

Colasterion.

AN Oath is in its selfe a religious affirmation, a promise with Gods Seal; and therefore it concerns Christians to be cautelous before swearing, to sweare Liquidly, and to observe Conscionably. 'Tis pitty such slender Evasions should satisfie us, as have beene scorn'd by heathens. We are bound (sayes one of them) to the sense of the imposer, or else we doe ψευδορκεῖν, we are bound to the performance of what we have thus

thus ſworn, or elſe we doe ἐπιορκεῖν: 'Tis much, that a morall conſcience ſhould more check them, than a clearer light can awe us: As if they more honour'd the Genius of a *Ceſar*, than we revere the preſence of a God: or elſe we ſhould never ingage in new proteſtations, that do interfere, yea, and ſometimes poſitively quarrell with old. They had their θεοὶ ἐπίορκιοι, their perjury-revenging Gods, to whoſe vindictive power they referr'd their offenders: they puniſh'd ſuch as ſwore falſely by their Prince with fuſtigation;

But

But ſuch as abuſed their Gods, were left to the diſpoſe of their injured Deities, as if they were at a loſſe how to finde a puniſhment equall to the ſin. Heare how ſoberly *Plato* mentions it (out of the noble Commentator upon *Philoſtratus*) *En toutes manieres ſà eſte un fort belle ordinance & inſtitution, de n'uſer point du nom des Dieux Legerement, de peur de Les contaminer; car la Majeſte des Dieux ne ſe doit imployer, qu' en un ſaincte & venerable pureté, It is wiſely ordain'd that the names of the Gods ſhould not be uſed upon trifling occaſions,*

occaſions, for feare of polluting them; for the Majeſty of the Gods ſhould not be imployed, but in holy and venerable purity. See what reall honour they gave to their counterfeit Gods: Let us have a care that we aſcribe not counterfeit honour to the true God.

Our God hates every falſe Oath: It appeares in his ſeverity to *Zedekiah*, for breaking Covenant with the Babylonian Monarch, though a Tyrant of the firſt magnitude. *Cauſabon exercitat.* 102.

Were all Subjects duly ſolicitous about the weight of this bound, we ſhould be leſſe prone to take

take, and more ſtudious to obſerve it; I remember the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes*, derives ὄρκος παρὰ τὸ ἔργω, τό συγκλείω, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἕρκος, ὅτι εἴργει τὸν ὀρκούμενον, It hedges in and ſhuts up a man, and tyes his hands behinde him; I know not how ſome Conquerours may cut this knot with the ſword, or how ſome *Sampſons* may ſhake off theſe cords; or what gaps the Licentious may make in this hedge; But ſuch as value God, or Heaven, or Prince, or Peace, can diſcover it no way better than in a ſincere uſe of ſo Divine an Ordinance.

There-

There can be no certain rule given, when to believe, and when not, what ſuch as are, or would be great pleaſe to inculcate to us: I find more wracks upon the rock of credulity: and 'tis no hereſie to affirme, that many have been ſaved by their infidelity; I commend that of *Epicharmus*,

Νᾶρτ, χ᾽ μέμνασο ἀπιστεῖν.

Prin-

Principle VIII.

Neceſsity of State, is a very competent Apology for the worſt of Actions.

IT has beene obſerved, that in all Innovations and Rebellions (which ordinarily have their riſe from pretences of Religion, or Reformation, or both) the breach and neglect of Lawes hath beene authoriſed by that great Patroneſs of Illegall Actions—Neceſsity.

ἐκθεὸς ἀνάγκη; *ſævus neceſſitas.*

Now the Polititian is never without ſuch an Advocate

Advocate as this; For he cares not to diſtiſtinguiſh whether the neceſſity be of his owne creating, or no, as for the moſt part it is, being indeed an Appendix to the wrong he undertakes, and ſignifies no more, than that he is compell'd to cover wrong with wrong, as if the commiſſion of a ſecond ſinne were enough to juſtifie the firſt.

He changes that old charitable adviſe—— *Benefacta benefactis aliis pertegito nè perpluant*; into *vitia vitiis aliis pertegito nè perpluant*: that ſo heaping one crime upon another

ther, the latter may defend the former from the ſtroke of Juſtice.

He adores that Maxim in *Livy*, *Juſtum eſt bellum quibus neceſſarium, & pia arma quibus in armis ſpes eſt*, *That war muſt needs be juſt that is neceſſary, and thoſe armes pious that are all our livelihood*: It were very incongruous to deſire that man to leave his crutch, that cannot walke without; 'tis no leſſe unnaturall to invite him to quit his ſword, whoſe life and fortune leans intirely upon it.

If he can inſinuate the ſcope of the Warre to be Legall,

Legall, a little dawbing will ſerve to Legalize the circumſtances: that of the Civilians muſt be remembred—— *Licere in bello quæ ad finem ſunt neceſſaria, Nothing is unlawfull in warre, that ſerves the end and deſigne of it:* the Oracles of the Gown are too tender for Sword-men; and it may be he had wit in his anger, who affirm'd, that martial Law was as great a Soleciſm, as martiall Peace.

Victor. *de Jure Belli*, nu. 18.39.

If the people be once poſſeſt that his aime and intention is faire, they will never expect that the *Media* for attainment of his

his end ſhould be retrenched by the ſtrict Boundaries of Law: He manages that Rule very practically, *Rem alienam, ex quâ certum mihi periculum eminet, citra culpæ alienæ conſiderationem invadere poſſunt, I may invade any thing of any mans that threatens certain danger to me, if I ſuffer him to enjoy it.* Now he can very plauſibly make this *periculum, certum*, or *incertum*, as ſhall beſt ſuit with his affaires.

De jure Belli, l. 424. 'Tis a broad Liberty that *Grotius* concedes, *Quare ſi vitam aliter ſervare non poſſum, licet mihi*

vi

vi qualicunque arcere eum qui eam impetit, licèt peccato vacet; & hoc ex jure quod mihi pro me natura concedit, If I have no other way to assure my life, I may by any meanes, repell any power that assaults it, though just: Selfe defence being a cleare dictate of nature. When Life, and Liberty, and Safety come in question, there ought no consideration to be had of just or unjust, pittifull or cruell, honourable or dishonourable. Now when the People have according to his desire, got over the great obstacle, and digested the plot

Mach. on Livy, 627.

plot for pious; it is easie to set all future proceedings upon the score of Liberty, Safety, Religion: And if he be constrained to use meanes grosly unlawfull, 'tis but to make them seem holy in the application, and all's well; For it is the humour and genius of the vulgar, when they have once rushed into a party implicitly, to prosecute it as desperately, as if they were under demonstrative Convictions of its Justice.

Finally, He must make a vertue of Necessity, because there is no other vertue

vertue will ſo eaſily be induced to ſerve his proceedings as this; ſhe may well ſmile upon licentiouſneſs, who hath her ſelfe no law.

Colasterion.

LEt that great Rule be received, that no man can be necessitated to sin: Our Divines generally damne an officious Lye; and the equity binds from any officious sinne.

It would soone cut the nerves of the eighth Commandement, if Necessities and Urgencies, though reall, were pronounced a sufficient excuse for stealing. But that which our Polititian calls Necessity, is no more than necessity of convenience, nor so much, except we interpret that

that convenience, which may favour his own ends, and ſo is convenient for his deſign. He uſes Neceſſity, as the old Philoſophers did an occult quality, though to a different purpoſe; that was their refuge for ignorance, this is his ſanctuary for ſin.

Thoſe Civilians that are moſt charitable to Neceſſity, make it no plea at all except it be abſolute and inſuperable; as by the Platonick Lawes onely thoſe perſons are allowed to drink at their Neighbours Well, that had in vaine ſought a Spring, by digging fifty cubits deep

Leſſ l. 11: c 12. Dub. 12. nu. 17.

in their owne ground. We allow the disburdening of a Ship in imminent perill of wrack; But this will not excuſe thoſe, who upon a fond or feigned previſion of a State-tempeſt, ſhall immediately caſt Law and Conſcience overboard; Diſcard, and quit Rudder and ſteerage, and ſo aſſiſt the danger they pretend to fear.

Cælius Rhodig. 1025.

Pauſanias tells of a Chappell in *Acrocorinth*, dedicated to Neceſſity and violence; thoſe Twin-Goddeſſes may be fit objects for the worſhip of Heathens; but 'tis pitty they ſhould be ſo much adored

dored by Christians.

If I mistake not, the fundamentall deceit lyes in a greedy entertaining those first pretences, and seemingly candid Propositions are made to us, before they have passed those scrutinies, and severe inquiries they deserve; or beene examined by the test of Gods word, and Nationall Lawes: All the rest are but ugly consequences of that absurdity wee first granted, according to the ancient Philosophick Maxime, Ἐνὸς λόγῳ δοθέντος, πολλὰ ἀναγκαῖον ὅτι συμβαίνειν.

Principle IX.

The Polititian must wave all Relations, both Sacred and Civill, and swim to his design, though in a Sea of bloud.

SUch as study to be great by any means, must by all meanes forget to be good; and they that will usurp Dominion over others, must first become slaves to the worst of Tyrants, a lust after greatnesse.

Crescit interea Roma Albæ ruinis, begins one of the Decads, that the walls of

of *Rome* were cemented with bloud, is known and commended by *Machiavel*; Although the superſtructure was brave, yet if we ſearch the foundation we ſhall finde it laid in the red ruines of her waſted neighbours; That the firſt Founder became a fratricide upon reaſon of State, to guard his new Conqueſt, by freedome from a Competitor; is not onely vindicated from cruelty, but aſſerted to be a piece of meritorious policy. Nor did this happen to the City in its ſtructure alone, but after in its reparation; when the Sons

Upon Liv. l. 2. c 3. *Thebe maritum, Timoleon fratrem, Caſſius filium hoc jure interfecere.*

of *Brutus* were ſacrific'd to the deſign of their Father: So that *Rome* was not only nurs'd with bloud, but after growth and ripeneſſe, ſhe ſuſtained her ſelfe, lived and thrived upon *Magna & ſanguinolenta latrocinia*; ſo that our Polititian can ſcarce want examples in the applauded actions of this City, to patronize the moſt crimſon and skarlet ſin, that ambition can prompt.

He admires the generoſity of *Neroe's* Mother, who is reported to have ſaid of her ſonne, Ἀποκτεινάτω με, μόνον βασιλευσάτω,

Let

Let my Son be my murderer, ſo he may be a Monarch; According to the adviſe of an high-ſpirited fury, *Pro Regno velim patriam, penates conjugem flammis dare, Imperia pretio quolibet conſtant benè*; An Empire cannot be purchaſed too deare, though it coſt the blood of Millions.

He is much taken with the Gallantry of the *Mamalukes*, who abuſed the eaſineſſe of the Egyptian *Sultan*, and wore the Supremacy three hundred yeares, upon the length and keenneſſe of an uſurping Sword.

And rather than want a bongrace, he commends the *Ottoman* wiſdome; for the great Turk rivets himſelfe to the Imperiall Chair, with the bones of his murdered Brethren. Aſpiring deſires are not only inſatiate, but admit of any ſin; that will promote their ends: See *Baſſianus* murthering his Brother *Geta* in his Mothers armes; *Andronicus* ſtrangling his Couſin *Alexius*, leſt he ſhould have a part in the Empire that had right to all: See *Cæſar* ſlighting the Oathes by which he had obliged his obedience to the *Roman* Senate. Fi-

Finally, Ambition knowes no confinement, nothing so sacred but it violates. The Gods must bow and yeild to it, as *Tertullian*, *Id negotium sine Deorum injuriâ non est, eadem strages mœnium & Templorum, tot sacrilegia Romanorum, quot trophæa; tot de Diis quot de Gentibus Triumphi*; *'Tis impossible to be ambitious without injury to the Gods; Temples themselves are not exempted from the fury of warre; the sacriledges of the Romans were as numerous as their Trophies, yet the Gods followed their triumphant charrets.* In Apologet.

Prin-

Colaſterion.

THe Italian Polititian ſeemes to intimate a ſcruple, when he ſayes, ——*Si jus violandum eſt, regnandi cauſâ violandum eſt*, His (If) dictates an uncertainty; and if we appeale to the barre of Nature, or Divinity, (though poſſibly the entire aſſertion may have ſomething of truth) yet we ſhall find that wicked (if) abſolutely baniſhed.

'Tis true, wee may more juſtly pitty him, that ſwallows a baite faire and gliſtring, than a perſon

ſon that tempts temptations to deceive him; or catches at Flies, and trifling allurements, becauſe in the firſt caſe a greater reluctancy is requiſite, and the dart may poſſibly be ſo ſharp, as to pierce through the Armour of a ſober Reſolution; But all this will little ſuccour him, who knowes it to be a baite, and hath beforehand deſigned its beauty, and faireneſſe, to apologize for the foulneſſe of the ſin: for here the greatneſſe of the Temptation will not at all extenuate the groſſeneſſe of the crime: No more than he

mitigates

mitigates his Robbery, who ſhall plead, that hee ſtole nothing but Gold and Jewels.

The World is much miſtaken in the value of a Scepter or Crown, we gaze upon its brightneſſe, and forget its brittleneſſe; we looke upon its glory, and forget its frailty; we reſpect its colour, and take no notice of its weight. But if all thoſe gay things which we fondly fancy to our ſelves were really to be found in Greatneſſe, yet ſtill he payes too deare, that pawnes his Heaven for it; he that thus buyes a ſhort bliſſe,

bliſſe, gives not twenty, or an hundred yeares purchaſe, but (if mercy prevent not) Eternity.

It will be little advantage here, to introduce the example of a Roman, or Turk, or Chriſtian if unlawfull; ſuch preſidents may perchance baffle the Vulgar (in whoſe Creede you may inſert what you pleaſe) but will be very cold anſwers, when we appeare before a ſevere Tribunall: It concernes us rather to obſerve how ambition claimes kindred with every other vice, ſtoops, and takes up every ſinne lies in its way; and,

if

if upon enquiry we finde it to be indeed ſuch a complicated miſchiefe, it will become us ſtudiouſly to ſhun it our ſelves, and ſeriouſly to deteſt it in others.

Prin-

Principle X.

A generall Innovation contributes much to the growth and ſecurity of Uſurpation.

WEE may receive this as a Tradition, handed to us from the great Patriarchs of Policy, atteſted by the practice of the ſubtileſt times; I preſume it may be grounded upon theſe, or the like Perſwaſions.

1. Becauſe ſuch an Innovation raiſes the duſt, and begets a cloud for the main deſign; for when the waters are troubled, 'tis hard

hard to ſee the baite.

2. Becauſe the Parentheſis betwixt an old and new government, flatters the hopes of all parties, ſoothing thoſe deſires that are for a relapſe into the old, and yet incouraging thoſe that wiſh for the eſtabliſhment of a new.

3. Becauſe when all things are reduced into a Chaos and rude heape, when all the lines and Lineaments of the former Government are blotted out, that which is new written will be more legible, and the old ſooner forgotten: for ſuppoſe a Kingdom made a Lump, with-

without ſhape and void, and it is like *materia prima*, prove to imbrace any form; when an Inſtrument is diſtun'd, you may ſet it to what key you pleaſe; and he that cannot ſometimes looſen the ſtrings, will never make good Muſick upon *Syneſius* his Harp.

4. Becauſe by new moulding of Juriſdictions, and Offices of State, there may be a fair opportunity offered, of gratifying thoſe that have ſerv'd us; and for others its very familiar to ſee ſome ſtubborne and rigid opiniators, who have continued

continued long unſhaken either by threat or argument, at length to ſurrender their Principles, and bow the knee before the Dagon of Honour and Riches; ſuch is the flexanimous power of golden Eloquence, as it is in the *Adage*,

Τὴν Ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν γιγνώσκει χελῶναι.

The two great pillars which the mind uphold,
Not being Mammon-proof, doe bow to Gold.

Beſides, we can find no better way to breed an abſolute dependance, and make others adhere to our

our Fortunes, than by winding the concernements of other men upon the ſame bottom with our Intereſt; we may obſerve this from the practice of great Favourites, who alwayes delight in theſe Props, and are carefull to ſet their whole Tribes in the Sunſhine of favour.

5. Becauſe ſuch a generall Deordination gives a taſte and reliſh to the ſucceeding Government, though in its ſelfe not ſo delectable; for *Ariſtotle* notes, that Democracy is better than Anarchy. 3. Pol.

There are many other advan-

advantages to be made by a due improvement of these turbid intervails; as the occasion of subdividing, and parcelling out your great end; for by this meanes they which refused to close with it in grosse, will receive it in retaile: and having entertained some portions of it, the grudge they bore to the whole will bee by degrees quieted and appeas'd.

Besides, when all things are ruffled and confused, it is then the Devils Holy-day, and therefore our worke-day: The noise is so loude, that it drowns the

the voice of the Law; and there may be ſome truth in his waggery, who ſaid, That ſuch as meane to commit Rape upon the Body politick, muſt put out the Lawes; as others upon a like occaſion uſe to put out the Lights.

Finally, If we ever hope to ſin with Impunity, to uſurp proſperouſly, or to governe Arbitrarily; we muſt take out that Leſſon in *Plautus*:

Idem facere, quod plurimi alii, quibus Res timida aut Turbida eſt; Pergunt turbare uſque, ut ne quid poſſit conquieſcere.

If

If my owne affaires require
I can ſet the State on fire:
Let the ruin'd kingdome
bleed,
So my private ends may
ſpeed;
I can dance in ſuch a ſtorm
'Tis a new way to reforme.

Co-

Colaſterion.

TIs moſt certain, that ſiniſter ends are promoted by Innovations; but it lyes in our boſomes to promote or quench the Innovations themſelves, which we can no way better doe, than by a ſtrict adherence to the Lawes; for as long as we maintain them, they will maintaine us: If we obſerve theſe, it will reſcue us from the hands of State-Noveliſts; for we are not fit for their turnes, till we are croſſ-byaſſed with faction.

As a caution againſt changes in Government, give me leave to repeate, what was long ſince told us by an ingenious Lord,

Faulkland. ---That all great mutations are dangerous; even where what is introduc'd by that mutation, is ſuch as would have beene very profitable upon a primary foundation: and it is none of the leaſt dangers of change, that all the perils and inconveniencies which it brings, cannot be foreſeene; and therefore ſuch as make title to wiſdome, will not undergo great dangers, but for great neceſſities.

But further, let me appeale to generall experience, yea, let me ask thee (Reader) if thou haſt never before heard, or read of a Nation, that was once the gaze and envy of its Neighbours; and yet being inſenſible of its happineſſe, or poſſeſt with fond hopes of bettering its condition, has cloſed with pretended friends, and reall enemies, and gladly contributed to its owne ruine.

So apt men are to catch at the ſhadow, though they hazard the ſubſtance: we may gueſſe at the Morall of the Frogs

in the Fable, who could finde no satisfaction in a ſtill Prince, and were after forced to abide the ſeverities of a Tyrant they prayed for.

But if there be ſuch diſtempers in a State, as ſhall neceſſarily require amendment, let it be done with the Pruning-hook of the Law, and not with the Sword of violence; For I never reade that Illegall, or Tumultuous, or Rebellious, were fit Epithets for Reformation. And 'tis fit Chriſtians ſhould forbeare the uſe of ſuch ſurly Phyſick, till they have levied a Fine in

the

the Court of Heaven, and out of the Intaile of the ſeventh Beatitude.

This may ſuffice to reveale in ſome meaſure, *Arcanum Ambitionis, ὑπερηφανίας μυστήριον.* I could add much more, but that I judge it a fitter task for our Nephewes, when Pens ſhall be infranchiſed.

And now (Reader) let us mix our prayers, that God would for ever baniſh this curſed Policy out of *Europe*, and the whole Chriſtian World; and damne it downe to Hell, from whence originally it came; and let ſuch

as delight to abuſe others, thinke of that ſelf-couſenage, with which in the interim they abuſe themſelves; God permitting the Devill to revenge the Impoſture. And whilſt we are buſie with politick ſtratagems, and tortious Armes to invade the rights of others; let us all conſider that this is not the violence which takes Heaven.

Let it be a piece of our daily Oraiſons, that God would guard our Pulpits from ſuch Boutefeus, as like *Ætna* and *Veſuvius*, belched out nothing but flames, and fiery diſcourſes;

ſes, uſing the Scripture as prepoſterouſly and impertinently, as ſome Pontificians, who tranſported with the vehemence of Hilderbrand's zeale, think the temporall Monarchy of Popes ſufficiently Scripturall from the ſaying of Chriſt to *Peter*— *Paſce oves*. Far be it from us to intitle the Spirit of God to exorbitant doctrines, it is eaſie to diſtinguiſh the Vulture from the Dove. The miſcarriages of the Clergy have a deeper ſtain from the ſacredneſs of their function, as probably he that invenomed the Euchariſt has the more

to

to answer for his Triple Crown.

It is manifest, that we are fallen into the dregs of Time, we live in the rust of the Iron Age, and must accordingly expect to feele, *Ultima senescentis mundi deliria*, the dotages of a decrepit World: What is become of truth, sincerity, charity, humility, those *Antiqui mores*, whither are they gone? Did they attend *Astræa* into Heaven, and have left such dangerous successors, as cruelty, pride, fraud, envy, oppression? *&c.* Such qualities as abundantly justifie the worst of Heathens, and dishonor

ſhonor the name of Chriſtians: I think it may ſafely be affirmed, that if a new *Europæ ſpeculum* were ſincerely written, it might be contracted into this ſhort Summary;

Novi ego hoc ſeculum quibus moribus ſit; Malus bonum malum eſſe vult, ut ſit ſui ſimilis; turbant, miſcent mores mali; Rapax, Avarus, Invidus, ſacrum prophanum, publicum privatum habebit;

I know the various humors of our times;
He that is wicked now inflames his crimes

By

By making Proſelites to
hell, and he
Joyes in it, that he may
have company
In rapines, murders, theſts;
now none can have
His own, except he be like
them, *a Knave.*
The Church is ſtripp'd by
ſacrilegious hands,
They that divided all, di-
vide the lands.

Hinlca Gens, &c.

Wolves are of late turn'd
Shepheards, ſurely wee
That have ſuch Guardians,
are extremely free.

THat Eternall Majesty, which raised so brave a Fabrick out of such indispoſed materialls; that weilds the world with his finger ever since it was made; that controules the wave, and checks the tumult of the people: that sits above, and laughs at the malignant counsels, and devices of wicked men: Let his mercy be implored for the speedy succour of his distressed Church; That the Rod of *Aaron* may blossome; That the Tabernacle of *David* may be raised; That the subtile may

may be caught in their owne snare; And that the Result of all afflictions may be the greatning his Glory, and exalting of his Scepter.

FINIS.

τὴν μῆδας μὲν ἦμε μέγα δίπσαο λὰ ὂν ἀκοῦ